

John Spelman

The Divine Original of Civil Government :

A
S E R M O N

Preached at the
A S S I Z E S

Held at
C A R R I C K F E R G U S,

For the COUNTY of
A N T R I M,

The 17th of JULY, 1713.

By *E. Mathews*, M.A. Curate of *Carrickfergus*.

A. D U B L I N :

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To the Right Honourable

ARTHUR,

EARL of

DONNEGALL.

My LORD,

THIS Sermon was Preached before the Honourable Mr. Justice *Coot* and Sir *Gilbert Dolbin*, Persons who have always distinguished themselves by their steddy Adherence to our Excellent Constitution in Church and State; and because it maintains the Principles which support both, they heard it with Favour and Approbation: When I was called to Preach on so publick an Occasion, I thought my self obliged to Assert the Right of the best of QUEENS, and to confirm it by Authorities from Scripture, and enforce from thence the Duties of *Loyalty* and *Subjection*, in a Place where some Mens *dangerous*, or at least *mistaken* Principles, rendred such a Task but too necessary.

The Discourses on this Subject wherewith the Publick abounds, are so Full and Convincing, that I had not the least Thought of appearing in Print, and excused my self to the High Sheriff, and those Gentlemen of the Grand-Jury, who desired it; and I shou'd still have retained the same Resolution, had not the contrary been required by a Person of *Eminent* Worth and Distinction; whom I cou'd not in good Manners deny: But as soon as I had determined to make it Publick, the Patronage your *Noble Ancestors* always afforded to my Predecessors in this Place, a grateful Resentment of the Happiness this *Corporation* Enjoys under its present Government, which is entirely owing to your Lordship, together with my own particular Obligations, immediately directed me, to make my Acknowledgments as Publick as I cou'd; and by laying this Discourse at your Lordship's Feet, to beg your Protection for it and its Author.

Dedications generally consist of Praise and Complement; and whoever Writes to your Lordship, cannot be at a loss for Panegyrick, but I think it more suitable to my Function, and the sincere Honour and Esteem I have for your Lordship, to endeavour to Serve as well as Please you; and since I contend for *Religion* and *Loyalty*, to contribute all in my Power, that you may be Eminent in both: And therefore I hope your Lordship will Pardon me for Reminding you, that you are drawing near to the most hazardous Time of Life, by entring into the Possession of a great Estate: Wealth and Power are very proper Means to render a Man Serviceable to his Prince and Country, yet they are too often perverted to quite contrary Ends, and are dangerous Instruments in
young

The Dedication.

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young Hands, especially in this Age, wherein strong Combinations are formed against Virtue and Religion; and wicked Emissaries are constantly employed, to entrap the Innocent and Unwary; who to gain their Ends will give into every Appetite and Passion, indulge an unbounded Liberty, and add Fuel to those irregular Desires which in Youth of themselves do Flame too high, and leave no Means unessayed to corrupt the Morals of the young *Nobility* and *Gentry*, in order to Debauch their Principles; first to engage them into a Freedom of *Acting*, which by necessary Consequence will induce a Freedom of *Thinking* also: These, my Lord, are the infamous *Arts* of Ruin practised by our *Modern* Politicians, to undermine our *Church* and *State*, in which they are but too often Successful, by the insinuating Power of Flattery, with which they guild their Poison; an Incense your Lordship must expect from your high Birth and Fortune, will in a plentiful Manner be offered unto you, and even by those Persons, who, tho' they owe every Thing to your Family, yet have always insulted you, and attempted to force from you, those Hereditary Privileges your *Ancestors* enjoy'd, as the Rewards of Loyalty and Merit: I only point out to your Lordship those Rocks and Shelves on which Numbers have miscarried, which you are in a great Measure secured against by the exact Care of your Education; 'tis a Blessing greater than your Quality and Fortune, that you are descended from Parents, who have taken an early Care to Form your Mind with good Impressions, and to Store it with such *Principles*, as will have a proper Influence on every Period of your Life, and add Lustre and Brightness to the Whole: By these you
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are taught to regard Nobility as an imaginary Distinction, when destitute of those Vertues, by which it first was earned, and to look on the Titles of your *Escutcheon*, not with a Design to make you Vain of your high Birth and ancient Descent, but to Remind you that your *Progenitors* had Worth and Merit, and distinguished themselves by their Loyalty to their Prince, and their Zeal for the Interests of their Religion and Country; Reflections the likeliest in the World, to Inspire you with a noble Ardour and Emulation, to pursue those Tracts in which they went before you, and to Rival them in Merit and in Fame: And to Excite you to this, your Lordship has not only a long and illustrious Row of *Ancestors*, but many living Examples among your nearest Relations: Your brave and noble *Uncle*, the greatness of whose Soul has always been an over-match for the Smiles and Frowns of Fortune; that excellent and unequalled Lady your *Mother*, of whom 'tis too little to say, that she has been the best of *Parents* and of *Wives*, the kindest to her *Friends*, and the most bountiful to her *Dependants*: These are the necessary Results of her *Exemplary Piety* and *Native Goodness*; they are very aimable Parts, but not the brightest in her Character; It requires something more to receive like her, with a generous Disdain and Pity, the Insolence of *Ingratitude* and *Faction*; and to defeat their *malicious Purposes*, by so exact a Prudence, and manly Resolution, as must add to the Reputation of the most consummate Wisdom: I might go on to Instance, but I shall detain your Lordship no longer, then while I recommend to your Imitation one *Honourable Person* more, lately entred into a near Alliance with your Lordship,
who

who has happily overcome those Dangers you are just entering into ; and by his *natural* Propensions to Virtue, confirmed by a *good* Education, was Proof against all the Temptations of Youth and Affluence ; he saw and had Power to Enjoy, but he despised the Pleasures of Vice, and by holding fast his Integrity and his Innocence, had no occasion to change his Principles to countenance his Morals : On this Foundation, my Lord, he built that Esteem he is so universally possessed of, and purchased the Room he has, in every *Honest* and *Loyal* Heart ; and will one Day reflect more Honour than he will receive, from that *High Quality* which by Right of Inheritance will be his. The Influence of these great Examples will give you to the World a publick Blessing, a Stay to the *Church*, and a Support to the *Crown* in these difficult Times ; when popular Rage runs high, when to be *Religious* and *Loyal* is a Crime, and our unhappy Divisions give us a dismal Prospect, and cannot but recal to our Remembrance the melancholly Time, when the *first* Stroke was made at the Ministers of the *Church* and *Crown*, and the *last* reached Majesty it self when *naked* and *defenceless* : And how just and reasonable are our Fears, when the Discharge of the most important Trusts with *Integrity* and *Honour* cannot secure Men from the infamous Reproaches of the *vilest* of the People ; and the Inheritors of the *Fortunes* and *Principles* of the *detested* Instruments of *Cromwel's* *Rebellion* dare insult the *Church Representative* of this Nation, and Brand them, thô with equal Truth and Reason as the *Thessalonians* did the *Apostles* of our *Lord*, as the *Overturers* of the World ; because they have *Successfully* detected and exposed their monstrous

trous Schemes of *Religion* and *Policy*, which are calculated either to reduce our Monarchy into a Republick both in *Church* and *State*, or to undermine all *Religion* and *Government*: These, my Lord, are growing Evils, and of the most *fatal* Tendency, and loudly call for the Assistance of Persons in your Situation; Persons of Power and Interest sufficient to Suppress them: Those *distinguishing* Honours and Revenues, which raise your Lordship so much above the greatest Part of your Fellow-Subjects, must engage your *Loyalty* to that *Crown*, from whose Bounty you derive them all; and secure your Affection to *that Church*, which trained up your *Fore-Fathers* in those *Principles*, which formed them for noble Actions, and opened their way to the Royal Favour.

That your Lordship may be as Eminent for your *Loyalty* and *Service* to the Crown, and your *Zeal* and *Concern* for the Church, as the most *Illustrious* of your Ancestors, is the sincere and hearty Prayer of

Your Lordship's

Most Faithful,

Most devoted,

And most Obedient

Humble Servant,

Edw. Mathews.

T H E
DIVINE ORIGINAL
O F
CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

PROV. viii. 15, 16.

*By me Kings Reign, and Princes decree Justice:
By me Princes Rule, and Nobles even all the
Judges of the Earth.*

SOLOMON introduces *Wisdom* speaking these Words of *her Self*, and inculcates by them the Necessity of a just and prudent Administration of Affairs, in order to fix their Crowns on Princes Heads, and to make their Government Happy and Secure: That the Practice of Judgment, Justice and Mercy, Prudence, Courage and Integrity, with all the other Vertues which support and adorn a Throne, and are eminently contained under the Name of *Wisdom*, are indispensably necessary to secure their Scepters and confirm their Power.

Now tho I am of Opinion, that this was the direct and immediate Sense of King *Solomon* in these Words, yet it is

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very evident, that they had a higher Meaning, and that the *Wisdom* here spoken of is no other than the Wisdom of God, the Divine *λογος*, The Second Person in the Sacred Trinity, to whom the Disposal of all the Kingdoms of the Earth was given by his Father as an Appendage of his Regal Power: In this Sense the Primitive Fathers of the Christian Church, and our first *Reformers*, who compiled our Homilies, understood this *Text*, and urged it as a Proof of the Divine Original of Civil Government, and an *Argument* for that profound Respect and Reverence which shou'd encircle the Persons of Kings and Supreme Magistrates, as being the Ministers and Representatives of that God, who is the first Fountain and Spring of Power.

Government is indispensably necessary to the well-being of Mankind, and tho' the Sense of it, like the Benefits of the Sun and Air, is lost in our constant and familiar Enjoyment, yet from thence we derive the Security of our Lives, our Liberties and Properties, and all that is dear to us in respect of this Life; together with the greater Blessings of serving our God in peace and quietness, of knowing and performing his Will: Now the Continuance of these Blessings depending on the Persons who administer the Government, Almighty God has taken the greatest Care for their Safety and Preservation, by frequently informing us, that Kings and Princes, and all supreme Magistrates do derive their Power from him, and are protected by his Providence in the *Exercise* of it, and by the Divine *Character* and Impress he has given them as his Vice-Gerents, has fenced them from the Hands of *Violence*, like *Eden* by the flaming Sword.

This, indeed, is one of the most natural Notions of Mankind, *That God who is the Origin of every thing, is so of Power also*: This was professed and maintained in all Ages and Nations, until a Set of Men arose, who would thrust God and his Providence out of the World, by the *Fiction* of a wild and imaginary *State* of Nature, which supposes Men at first to spring out of the Earth like Trees and Plants, and to have lived *independent* of each other, until the Mischiefs of *Anarchy*, and the Miseries of a *State* of War, obliged them
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by common Consent to chuse for themselves Rulers and Magistrates, to whom under certain Limitations and Restrictions, they gave up the natural *Right* they had over their Lives, Liberties and Properties, which they might reassume when ever their Governors should break the *Contract* by violating the Articles of Agreement, and here they fix the *Original* of Civil Power; an Account natural enough upon the absurd and wild Supposition, that Men were made by *Chance* without the Superintendency or Interposition of a *Deity*: But for those who read and pretend to believe the Bible, which represents God as the Creator and Supreme Lawgiver of Mankind, that the first Man that was born was born a Subject, and that the whole Race has ever since been under the direction of Laws: For those, I say, *to give into the Schemes* of Persons who deny a God, and disown his Providence, is not only Strange but Amazing.

But however absurd and unaccountable this Conceit is, many who call themselves Christians have *built* on this Foundation, and embraced and taught the *Opinion*, which places the *Original of Power in the People*: A Principle that is not to be supported but upon Supposition of a time of universal Anarchy and an Independent State. This is the profest Tenet of the celebrated Doctors of *Rome, Geneva, the Kirk of Scotland,* and the Sectaries of *England and Ireland*, who acted by different Motives, do yet agree in telling us, That * “ the Prince “ is the Creature of the People, who can never so far transfer “ their Power over to a King, but that they retain the Habit “ of it still within themselves, and in some Cases may actu-

* *Bell. de Concil. lib. 2. c. 19. Lessius lib. 2. de just. & jur. c. 9. dub. 4. Calvin Instit. l. 4. c. 20. Sect. 21. Buchan. Dialog. de jure Regn. apud. Scot. Knox. Hist. Reform. p. 392, 393. Rights of the Christian Church, p. 288. The King is no King but covenanting-wise and conditionally; and by the Covenant the People may have a civil Claim against him, and may punish him in Courts set up by themselves, and may reassume what Powers he hath, for he is both their Subject and Vassal. Rex. Lex. p. 178. Thrô the manifest and notorious Perversion of the great Ends of Society and Government, the Band is dissolved and the Persons relapse into their primitive Liberty, and may again associate as they did at first enter into Societies. Napthal. p. 150.*

"ally reassume it : That the Subjects in general are as much
 "Superior to the King, as he is to any one of them : That the
 "People may have Officers to guard their Liberties against
 "their Prince, and that when he invades them, they may
 "Judge, Condemn and Execute him. And I heartily wish
 that those poisonous Principles were confined to the *Conclave*,
 the *Kirk*, and the *Conventicle*, and had not infected many
 who profess themselves Members of that Church, which has
 always declared her *Abhorrence* of those Antichristian Prin-
 ciples : *Men*, who from a Fondness of Liberty and Jealousy
 of their Rights and Properties, cannot admit the 'Original
 of Government to be from God, nor the Right of Princes
 to be Divine ; because this wou'd imply, that Princes are in
 so peculiar a manner the Care and Concern of Heaven, that
 Subjects are thereby tied down to Patience and Suffering,
 under the cruellest and severest Treatment, even the Loss of
 their undoubted Rights and Priviledges, as they would a-
 void rebelling against Heaven, and fighting against God ;
 and therefore they think it more reasonable to suppose, that
 the Prince has no *Civil Power* but what he derives from the
 People, who therefore must have a Right not only to call him
 to an *Account*, but also to depose him, and change him for
 another, when he acts contrary to the Design of his Institu-
 tion : And this reserve of Power, they say, will oblige him
 more carefully to pursue the Ends of Government, which
 is the Good of the Community, and be a Remedy for the
 Subject in case of Tyranny and Oppression.

But this fine Scheme, however Plausible it may seem, is
 false at bottom, and in its natural Tendency destructive to
 all Governments on Earth ; and 'tis visible to every common
 Observer, how loosely the Duty of Allegiance has sat on
 Men, since this Doctrine has prevailed so much : Now as
 we of the sacred Function are in a particular Manner dire-
 cted to teach Men Subjection to Magistrates, as to the *Ondi-*
nance of God, so it will be for the great Benefit of Mankind,
 and besitting the *present Solemnity*, to settle Allegiance and
 Subjection on their old Foundations, by shewing the false-
 ness of that Principle which makes the People the *Original of*
 Govern-

Government, and proving That the unavoidable ill Consequences of it are worse than those which the Advancers thereof think to avoid by it ; and therefore that it ought to be exploded, even by the Rules of worldly Policy, tho God had not expressly told us That by him Kings Reign, and Princes decree Justice ; by Him Kings Rule, and Nobles even all the Judges of the Earth.

In speaking to these Words I shall endeavour to Prove,

First, That Kings and Princes and all Supreme Magistrates derive their Authority from God, and not from the People.

Secondly, That the Principle which places the Original of Power in the People, is pernicious and destructive to Government in General ; and will necessarily introduce that Arbitrary Power, which the Maintainers thereof pretend to avoid by it.

Thirdly, I shall draw some Inferences from the Whole, and so Conclude.

First, I am to prove that Kings, &c.

And this I shall endeavour to do first from Scripture, where as to the Original of Power we are told, That the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, Dan. 4. 17. That Promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, nor yet from the South, for God is the Judge, he putteth down one and setteth up another, Psal. 75. 6, 7. God hath spoken once, and twice I have heard the same, That Power belongeth unto God, Psal. 62. 11. St. Paul tells us, That there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be are ordained of God, and our Blessed Saviour teaches his Disciples, in their Addresses to his Father, to acknowledge, That the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory are his.

Now to confirm these general Assertions by particular Examples, we find by many Instances in sacred Story, That the actual disposing and re-assuming of Crowns was exercised by God, and claimed by him as his sole and undoubted Prerogative ; and that under the Jewish Theocracy, not only the

the Delegation of Power, but the Designation of the Person was from God : Thus when God foresaw that the Children of *Israel* would desire a King like all the Nations round about them, he does not tell them that they were the Original of Power, and might Delegate it to whom they would, but *thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose*, Deut. 17. 14, 15. and in Pursuance of this, without the Authority of the People, *Samuel* anointed *Saul* : But when *Saul* had sinned by sparing the King and the Spoils of the *Amelikites*, God re-assumes the Crown by the same Power by which he gave it : We hear nothing of an Encroachment on the Rights of the People ; no Violation of the Original Contract, no Claim of the forfeiture of Power into the People's Hands who gave it ; no ! but God tells him by *Samuel*, *The Lord anointed thee King over Israel, but because thou hast rejected the Word of the Lord, God hath rejected thee from being King* ; and as the Prophet's Mantle, which *Saul* laid hold on rent, so, says he, *God has rent the Kingdom from thee this Day* : Had he observed the Commandment of God, *the Lord would have established his Kingdom over Israel for ever*, but for his Disobedience God cuts off the Entail from his Posterity, and Commands *Samuel* to Anoint *David* his Successor : but notwithstanding *Saul*, by Acting contrary to his Commission, had forfeited it, into the Hands of God who gave it, yet the People could not claim that Forfeiture ; as they had no Right to give, so they could not re-assume : Bad as he was, He was cloathed with Authority from God, and was accountable to none but him for the Abuse of it ; but as to his Subjects, *touch not mine anointed*, was still in force : Thus Holy *David* reasons, tho' under the unjustest Persecutions, and when he had the fairest Opportunities, and strongest Temptations, from his own Injuries and the Perswasions of others to cut off *Saul*, *Who can*, says he, *stretch forth his Hand against the Lord's anointed and be guiltless ; as the Lord liveth the Lord shall smite him, or his Day shall come to Die, or he shall descend into the Battle and Perish* : *Saul's* Power was immediately from Heaven, and none cou'd recal it but that God who gave it.

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But lest it should be said, That God did in a more special manner Interest himself in the Direction and Guidance of his chosen People as their immediate Sovereign, and that therefore no general Conclusion can be drawn from thence; we find the Case exactly the same as to other Nations, and that God asserts, *That the Heathen Kings did Reign by him.* Thus Daniel tells Nebuchadnezzar, *The God of Heaven gave thee a Kingdom and Power, and Strength and Glory,* Dan. 2. 37. God Almighty by the Prophet Isaiah, call Cyrus his Shepherd and his Anointed, Is. 45. 1. and designed him for the Throne Two Hundred Years before he was Born; And Cyrus himself acknowledges, *That he derived his Power from God,* saying, *The Lord God of Heaven hath given me all the Kingdoms of the Earth,* Ezra 1. 2. and our Blessed Saviour tells Pilate, who was but Lord-Lieutenant to an Heathen Emperor, *That the Power he had against him was from above:* From all which Texts and Instances it plainly appears, that all Power is Originally in God, and that it derives from no other; and that Crowns and Kingdoms are in his and only his Disposal; and 'tis as evident as Scripture can make it, That the Authority of Princes and all Supreme Magistrates is derived from God; and that he and not the People is the Original and Fountain of their Power.

Secondly, This is the Doctrine of our Church, as set forth in her Articles, her Canons, her Homilies, and publick Liturgy.

* In the Articles authorized by King Edward VI, we are* Spar-
 expressly told, *That the Civil Magistrate is ordained by God:* row's Col-
 In those set forth in Queen † Elizabeth's Days, 'tis said, *lection Ar-*
 That all States and Conditions of Men are committed to the Go- *ticle of Ci-*
 venment of Princes by God; and the Sense of the Church in *vil Magi-*
 this Particular is further confirmed by the Canons published † Spar-
 by the Royal Authority in the Days of King Charles I. in *row's Col-*
 the Preamble of the first Canon; ¶ *The Authority of the King* *left. Art.*
is said to have been always acknowledged by the Church as indepen- ¶ Spar-
 dent; and in the enacting Part of it, Every Parson, Vicar, *row, Ca-*
 Curate or Preacher is enjoined once every three Months to declare *non firsto-*
 in the Face of the Congregation; That the most High and sacred *the Regat*
 Power.
 Order

Order of Kings is of Divine Right, being the Ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime Laws of Nature, and clearly established by expresse Texts both of the Old and New Testament, and that a Supreme Power is given to this most excellent Order by God himself in Scripture.

The Homilies of our Church appointed by Act of Parliament to be read to the People, and which no Man can contradict from this place, without being false to his Subscriptions and his Oaths, are every where full of this Doctrine :

|| Homily of There we are told, That || *Kings and Queens, and other Princes*
Obedience, are ordained of God, and that all Persons having Souls do owe
last Para- bounden Duty to the Higher Powers, for as much as they are ordain-
graph of the ed of God himself, from whom they receive all their Power, and all
First Part. their Authority, and they that resist shall receive Damnation, be-
 cause they resist not Man but God, not Man's Device and Inven-
 * Homily tion, but God's Wisdom, God's Power and Authority : And * that
first against it comes neither of Chance nor Fortune, nor of the Ambition of mor-
wilful Re- tal Men and Women, climbing up of their own accord to Domi-
bellion. nion, that there are Kings, Queens and Princes, and other Gover-
 nors, but they are especially appointed by the Ordinance of God.

The publick Devotions of our excellent Church, which are incorporated into our Laws, direct us in our Solemn Addresses to the Great God to profess the same Doctrine, and to acknowledge him in our daily Prayers for the Queen and Government, to be the only Ruler of Princes, in whose Hands all earthly Power doth consist. In the Communion-Service we pray for Her Majesty as God's chosen Servant, but our Queen and Governor ; that she knowing that she is God's Minister, may seek his Honour and Glory ; and that we (her Subjects) duly considering that she hath God's Authority and not ours, may humbly obey her in God, and for God, according to his blessed Word and Ordinance : And in the next Collect of the same Office, we pray for her as God's Servant, but our Sovereign. In the Prayer for the Church Militant, she is called God's Servant, but our Queen and Governor. In the Office for the 30th of January, we are taught to call the Royal Martyr, God's Anointed, but our Gracious Sovereign. In the Office for the 29th of May King Charles II is called God's Anointed and God's Servant, but our
 most

most Gracious Lord. And in the ~~first~~ Act of Parliament for the Observation of that Day, to be read in Churches annually for ever, God is acknowledged to be the sole Disposer of all earthly Crowns and Kingdoms. In the Office for the Day ^{15 Car. II.} of Her Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, We ^{cap. 1.} give God Thanks for our Sovereign Lady, set over us by his Providence to be our Queen: We praise God for setting his Servant ANNE, our Queen, on the Throne of her Ancestors; and with grateful Hearts acknowledge his Goodness in setting his Servant, our most Gracious Queen, over these Churches and Nations. From whence, I think, it appears very evidently, that, according to the Doctrine of our Church, God is the sole Fountain of Sovereignty and Power; and that Kings and all other Supreme Magistrates are his Creatures, and not the Peoples.

Now how contrary to this Doctrine is the Language of those who call the Queen the Servant and Trustee of the People, and affirm the Original of Power to be in them; which for that Reason they may exert against her when she is guilty of *Male Administration*, of which they are Judges, and for which she must be accountable to her Sovereign Subjects: And if she were, indeed, what they would make her, the Creature of the People, deriving her Power and Authority from them, what horrid Blasphemy and Prophaness, what dreadful Mocking of God are we guilty of in our publick Devotions? But on presumption that the Scriptures and the Church are in the Right, what excellent Sons are they of that Church who upon worldly Respects can with their Lips joy with the Congregation in offering up those very Expressions to an Omniscient God, at the same time that their Hearts contradict and disown every word they say.

Thus far I have proved my first Proposition from the Doctrine of the Scriptures and our Establish'd Church, I shall now endeavour to prove it by some Arguments drawn from the Nature and Obligation of Government; and therefore,

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Thirdly,

Thirdly, The Original of Civil Government is from God, and not from the People; because we are bound to obey the Laws of our Governours, not only from the Dread of worldly Punishment, and for fear of the *Axes of the Leviathan*, but also for Conscience sake: Now Conscience is beyond the Reach of Human Cognizance, it owns no Sovereign but God himself, and can have no Obligations, but what are deriv'd from the Authority of him, whose Power extends to another World. If therefore the Laws of our Superiors do bind Men's Consciences, it must be because their Authority is originally derived from God, who alone has Power over the Consciences of Men; for Human Laws, as such, can reach no further than the outward Actions of Men, and when they are stript of the binding Power they receive from God, Men may commit the greatest Villanies, if they can secure themselves from their Penalties, and are at liberty to evade those Penalties, by any Mischiefs when they have incurred them, and in some Cases it would be Madness not to do it; for if Government is not founded on the Authority of God, but on a Bargain struck between the Prince and People, then the only End and Design of Mens entering into Societies and submitting to Government must be for the Security of their Persons and Properties, for the Safety and Ease of Life: And from thence it follows, that if the Magistrate should upon any Account attempt the Life of the Subject, he has all the Reason in the World to free himself from his Power, tho' with the Ruin of Government under which he lives: For the End, for which he first entred under Government, was to live securely and happily; but when this End is so far from being answer'd, that he is likely to loose his Life by being subject to Government, the very same Reason which induced him first to submit to it, *the Security of his Life and Possessions*, must now oblige him to rescue himself from it by every Method in his Power. This must necessarily be the Case on Supposition, That Government has no Foundation but Human Compact; but yet all Governments in the World do affirm, that the Subject is bound in Conscience to submit to the Supreme Power, tho' to the Detri-

Detriment of his Property, his Liberty, or his Life; which can proceed from nothing but this, That Human Laws do bind the Conscience by virtue of an Original Authority derived from God himself.

Fourthly, Kings and Princes and all Supreme Magistrates derive their Authority from God, and not from the People; because they have Power over the Lives of Men: For should we grant a Time when there was no Government, and Men liv'd in an Independant State (which every Man who believes his Bible knows to be false) yet the Civil Magistrates could never have any Power over the Lives of Men, except it were given them by God: They might indeed kill Men with great Pomp and Solemnity, according to all the Forms of Law and Political Justice; but after all be no better than publick Murderers, notwithstanding any Authority the People could convey unto them; because no Man having Power over his own Life, he cannot give to the Magistrate what he never had in himself; so that it can never be proved, that Civil Government is originally derived from the People, until it be first allowed lawful for a Man in some Cases to murder himself: As in case the King should abdicate, or the Royal Line should be extinct before the Crown is settled, or by any other Means it should happen, that there should be no Person who has a Rightful Claim to the Peoples Allegiance, so that they relapse into their primitive Liberty; and yet this is a Position which I think all but Atheists do deny: And I am sorry to observe, that so many who profess themselves Christians, are so fond of the Notion which derives the Power of the Prince from the People, which is not to be defended but on the Principles of those, who are Enemies not only to the Divine Right of Kings, but to that God by whom Kings do Reign.

The Infamous Author of a Libel falsely called, *The Rights of the Christian Church*, is aware of the Force of this Argument, and therefore gives this Matter another Turn, and fixes the Original of Civil Government in the Power that Men have over one another, from the inherent Right of self Preservation, and preferring their own Good to that of

other Persons : † A Principle that supposes a Man to have a Right over another Man's Life, tho' he has none over his own : And that for this absur'd Reason, because he loves himself better than his Neighbour ; a Principle that labours under more Absurdities, and obviates none of the Inconveniencies of that which he gives up ; but the *Force* of this Argument when truly stated in its full Strength is this.

Every Man is by Nature vested with a Right to defend his Life from every Person who violently and injuriously invades it ; and all allow that he may justly take away the Assailant's Life, if he has no other Way to save his own : Why therefore may not a Number of Men delegate the Right, which each of them has over the Life of every violent Invader, into the Hands of the Magistrate as the Common Avenger, and by this Means a Power over the Lives of Men be conveyed to him by the People ? But this Argument does only raise a Dust about the Truth, but is of no Force or Consequence ; for

First, Without disputing the Right *that* is here contended for, as this Case is stated, the Civil Magistrate can have no Power over the Lives of Men in any Instance but one, *viz.* When there is no way of saving one Subject's Life but by taking away another's who is a violent Invader ; a Power too which the Magistrate must never execute, except he happens to be actually present when the Subject's Life is assaulted, for the Magistrate's Power is no more than was delegated to him ; *The Right every Man has over the Life of the violent Aggressor when the taking it away is absolutely necessary to the saving his own.* A Right which for that Reason does not commence until the Assault is begun, and holds good only in the Article of Danger, and determines when that is over ; and the Magistrate can have no Power over the Subject's Life in any other Case by virtue of that Right ; whereas in all Governments in the World, the Magistrate does inflict

† Men having no Power over their own Lives or Limbs, Government could not flow from hence ; but must be derived from the Power they had over one another, bounded on the Inherent Right they had of preserving themselves, and preferring their own Good to that of others. *De jure Nat. Rights.* p. 10.

Death for any Crime, however little in it self that may be detrimental to the Publick Weal: By our Laws 'tis Death to stamp the Queen's Head and Arms on a Piece of Gold or Silver, to counterfeit the Great or Privy Seal, or to speak dangerous Words, tho' no Action be consequent to them; nay, so little is the Proportion between the Crime and the Punishment, simply consider'd, that it is made Capital to Steal to the Value of *Five Shillings*: And I believe no Man will say, that the Magistrate may not inflict Death in these and the like Cases, which yet we see have not the least relation to that *Right which every Man has over the Life of every violent Assailant*; and therefore the Power which the Civil Magistrate does exercise over the Lives of Men could not be convey'd to him by that Right: But

Secondly, If, according to this Supposition, a number of Men, weary of their natural State of War, should for their mutual Preservation convey to the Magistrate the Right each of them has over the Life of every violent Invader, then it follows, that each of them does actually give such Magistrate a Right over his own Life if ever he should be an Aggressor: and the Case is founded on that Presumption, that some of the Community may be such Aggressors; for that was the Reason of their chusing a Magistrate; so that the old Difficulty recurs, The supposing in the People a Power to dispose of their own Lives, which the Author of the Rights, &c. acknowledges they have not; and yet all allow the Civil Magistrate to be cloathed with the Power of Life and Death, which could not otherways be convey'd to him, but by the Authority of that God who alone has a Right and Power to dispose of the Lives of Men.

It may be objected that in some Cases, as in Elective States and Kingdoms, that the Magistrate does immediately derive his Power from the People, since it intirely depends on their Choice who the Person shall be that is to execute this Power: To which I answer, That even in this Respect, there may not so much lie in the People as some imagine; for if the Providence of God does interpose in the most minute Affairs, even *the falling of a Sparrow to the Ground,*
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the Disposal of Crowns and Kingdoms must be the more immediate Objects of his Care : The Happiness or Miseries of a Nation as such, does chiefly depend on the good or ill Management of the Reins of Government ; and one usual Method whereby God does bless or punish a Nation, is by setting up a good or a bad Prince ; and tho' he makes use of the instrumentality of Second Causes in doing so, yet he can overrule Men's Wills, and make their most voluntary Actions subservient to raise to Empire those whom he first designs ; but whatever Share the People may have in the designation of the Persons of Princes, yet the Power by which they act is by no means theirs ; the People do no more in this Case than the Free-men of a Corporation, who chuse their Magistrate indeed, but can convey no Power to him by that Choice ; but his Authority is derived from the Approbation of the Government, and those Charters and Priviledges which were given and confirmed by the Supreme Power.

I proceed now in the Second place to show, That the Principle, which places the *Original of Power in the People*, is pernicious and destructive to Government in general, and will necessarily introduce that Arbitrary Power which the Advancers of it pretend to avoid by it.

First, This Principle must be destructive of all Government, because it supposes in the People a Power to cancel at their Pleasure the firmest Oaths and most solemn Vows, and every thing that can bind the Consciences of Mankind, and gives them a Right to examine and pass their Judgment on the most intricate and perplexed Affairs of State, which they neither have Capacity nor Opportunity to understand : Nay, and to censure in their Princes the unavoidable Infirmities of Human Nature, and to call them to an Account for the Miscarriages of the best laid Designs, whenever their Passions are wrought up by their own Ignorance or Prejudice or influenced by the subtle Contrivances of wicked and designing Men : It is to no purpose to say, That this *radical inherent* Power of the People is never to be exerted but on extraordinary Occasions, when the Prince degenerates into a Tyrant and attempts to over-turn the Liberties of
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of his Subjects, because the *last resort* being placed in the People, they must be Judges of their own Fears, and have a Right to declare when the *Original Contract* is broken by the Prince, and to determine the proper Season of opening the *Original Magazine of Power*: So that this Principle stamps *Lawful* and *Just* on whatever is *Successful*, and renders a *prosperous Rebellion* impossible, and the Security of all Government must depend on the Ebbings and Flowings of the wavering Passions of the Crowd, which vary into a Thousand differing Forms upon every and upon no Cause; and having no Superior Power to controul them, must end in universal Confusion and Ruin.

Secondly, This Principle is necessarily introductive of that *Arbitrary Power* which Men think to avoid by it: For when the Prince considers, that his Subjects regard him only as their Creature, and are ready to insult him, and re-assume their Power when ever they are disoblighd; He will look on them with Jealous Eyes, and knowing how small a Share of Reason mingles with the Love or Hatred of the Crowd, he will take every Method he can to guard himself against and set himself beyond their Power, by securing so much of it to himself as will disable them from exerting their *Original Right*; so that perpetual Jealousies and Suspicions will be entertained, which will quite destroy that mutual Confidence, which alone can make the People Happy and the Prince Secure; whereas the contrary Supposition, That the Prince's Authority is from Heaven, and that none but God can punish the Abuse of it, labours not under any of these Inconveniencies: Here is room for the Prince to look on himself as set up by God as the Common Father of his Country, and a strong Motive for the Exercise of his Paternal Care over his Subjects; and they receiving him as the *Image of God* must have a sacred Regard for his Person, and look on themselves as obliged to the Returns of Duty, of Homage, and of Love; and both the Prince and the People contribute to the Welfare and Happiness of each other.

It is false Reasoning to say, That this puts a Prince under the Temptation of turning Arbitrary and a Tyrant, because
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the Laws do guard the Liberties of the Subjects, and give them a Right and Means to punish any Person who violates and invades them, tho' under Pretence of the Prince's Authority ; and Princes observing with how great Ease and Safety their Crowns sit on their Heads, by confining their Power within the Limits of the Laws, are from thence much more strongly inclined to act according to them, than they possibly can be from that Supposition which gives the Subject a coercive Power over them : For if the Prince is good, there is no occasion to hang this heavy Sword over his Head by the slender Thread of Popular Opinion ; He is always conscious of his own Dependance on a Power infinitely superior to his, and is never so far elated with the Splendor of a Crown and the Thoughts of being unaccountable to any earthly Power, as to forget to pay his Homage to Heaven and that he must one Day give an Account of his High Trust at God's Tribunal ; which Reflection will inspire him with a more tender and affectionate Regard for his Subjects Welfare, than the Supposition of a coercive Power in their Hands can do : And on the other Hand, the very Knowledge of such a Reserve of Power, will engage a wicked Prince in restless Endeavours to curb and quell it ; nay, he cannot think himself safe until he has done it, tho' with the Ruin of those he Governs. And when I have acknowledged that while Men have Passions and Infirmities, no earthly Government can be wholly free from Inconveniencies ; I appeal unto every unprejudiced Reason, whether the Principle of a Divine Right and an unaccountable Power in Princes be not attended with infinitely less Inconveniencies, than that which places the Original of Power in the People, and whether the Principle that does so is not naturally introductive of Arbitrary Power and destructive to every Government.

I come now in the last place to draw some Inferences from this Discourse and so conclude : And

First, If our Queen derive her Power from God, is his *Vice-Gerent* and acts by his Authority, I infer, That the greatest Reverence and Respect is owing to her, 'tis a Homage

mage due by every Subject not only as enjoyn'd by God, but as necessary to support her Crown, and to enable her to discharge the Obligations of her High Calling : Distance, Regard and Honour are in their own Nature requisite to uphold and secure Authority ; They encompass the Prince's Person with Respect and Awe ; They add Dignity to his Actions, Efficacy to his Commands and Weight to his Opinions and his Words. How bright does the Divine Image shine in that Prince, where Respect and Honour add Lustre to the Rays of Power, and the outward Pomp and Glitter of Majesty is crowned by unaffected Reverence and Esteem, which burnishes every Jewel of the Crown, makes every Action of the Prince seem God-like and August, surrounds his Throne with Beams of Glory, and fixes his Empire in his Subjects Hearts. And this is a Duty every honest and ingenuous Man is bound to pay from the eternal Reasons and Respects of things ; For the Dictates of Reason tell us, That Protection and Defence do demand Respect and Honour, antecedently to any Oath of Fealty and Allegiance to the Prince ; and Nature obliges every Subject, who enjoys the Security of his Life and Fortune under any Government, to do all in his Power to defend and support that Government. Now whoever does with-hold from his Prince that Honour that is due unto him, does strike at the Vitals of Majesty, and as much as in him lies withdraws that Prop, without which it cannot be supported or secured. Let me then prevail on you to pay unto our Gracious Sovereign a Degree of Respect and Honour suitable to the high Sphere in which she moves ; that you would not entertain a Thought that derogates from it, nor hear with Patience, much less with Approbation, those, who asperse the common Parent of our Countrey, and vilify those Persons by whose Counsels she administers the Affairs of the Publick ; and this must be done out of Principle and for *Conscience sake*, as to one whom *God hath set over us* ; It must not depend on the *Revolution* of a Ministry, nor the strong Convictions of Preferment and Employ ; for if it does, it never will be permanent and uniform : We must remember the time when a patient acquiescence in the

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Actions of Authority was loudly insisted on by some Men, and, I thank God, was practised too, when Designs were carry'd on very inconsistent with our present Settlement ; when it was much safer to speak or vend Treason against LIVING MAJESTY, than to affront, not the GLORIOUS MEMORY, but barely the IMAGE of the Dead : But as soon as ever the Face of Affairs was altered somewhat contrary to their Minds, they immediately discovered, that *the Principle which fixes the Original of Power in the People* sat nearest their Hearts, since those very Persons endeavour'd to sink her Majesty in the Opinion of her Subjects, to add Weight to those heavy Cares which hang about her Crown, to cast odious Colours on the best laid Designs, and to raise groundless Fears and Jealousies which might dispose the giddy Multitude to transgress the Bounds of Loyalty, and run into Treason and Rebellion.

Secondly, From our Queens being placed on the Throne by God, and acting by his Authority, I infer, That the most submissive and entire Obedience is due unto her : Our Obedience can admit no Bounds or Limits but the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of the Thing commanded. Indeed, whenever our Prince commands any thing contrary to the Will of God, natural or revealed, we are not to obey ; because, in that case, the Prince's Power is over-ruled by the Higher Authority, of that *God by whom Kings do Reign* ; but even then, when the Prince enforces a Law which after all our honest search, we are perswaded is contrary to the Law of God, we are not to break out into Reviling, Mutiny, and Riot ; our Prince must still be regarded as the Minister of God, cloathed with his Commission, and accountable only to him for acting contrary to it : Our Sovereign's Person is still *sacred*, and her Authority must not be *resisted*, and therefore where we cannot Obey we are bound to *Suffer*.

I am sufficiently aware how some Persons will receive what they call the *old exploded and ridicul'd* Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* : 'Tis old indeed, as old as Christianity, and will be of equal Duration with the Gospel of Christ : I know likewise that it has been exploded and ridiculed ; but if I mistake not, the Bible in which this

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Doctrine is contain'd, has been so serv'd ; but I hope without any just Imputation on the Doctrine or the Book : And sure I am, that whoever owns the Authority of the Bible must confess, *That the Powers that be, are ordained of God, and that he that resists shall receive Damnation.* The Scripture indeed does not put Cases as applicable to every national Constitution ; it does not say how far the Prerogative of the Crown extends, nor determines the Subject's Claim of Right ; it does not tell us what Degree of Obedience is due to the *Executive*, nor what to the *Legislative Power* : These Debates are left to the particular Laws of every Country ; but in general, the Scripture ties down every Person to *Obedience or Suffering*, in respect to the Supreme Power ; which is a Warrant and Direction to us to Preach this Doctrine in *general*, in reference to our Queen, who is in *all her Majesty's Dominions over all Persons and in all Cases Supreme.* * And our Reason will tell us, tho' the Bible had not, that the Foundation of all Government depends on this Doctrine, *on the Subjects obligation to Compliance or Submission in the hardest Cases* ; and if this be denied, Societies must immediately disband, and human Nature be converted into *Herd*s of Men. And where is now the mighty Jest that some Men find in this Doctrine ? Men, whose *frothy* Talents consist in Burlesquing Arguments instead of answering them, and with whom to laugh is to confute, should yet have a care how they make free with a Doctrine of Jesus Christ, lest they be found to *mock* God, and incur the dreadful Penalty of doing so.

* The King's Majesty being only the Supreme Head of the Realm of *England*, and of this Land of *Ireland*, immediately under God. *Irish Act.* 28. H. 8. c. 18. The King being not only the Supreme Head in Earth, next and immediately under God, of the Church of *England* and *Ireland* ; but also their most assured and natural Sovereign Liege Lord and King, having the whole Governance, Function, Defence and Maintenance of this Land, and his most obedient and loving Subjects of the same. *Irish Act.* 28. H. 8. c. 14. King *Charles* the Second is said by the Lords and Commons to be their only lawful and rightful Supreme Leige Lord and King. *Irish Act.* 13 Car. II. c. 1. See also Queen *Eliz.* Act of Supremacy, &c.

Well, but some will urge, That if the Person of the Prince be so sacred, that he must not on any Pretence be called to an Account, has he not a Latitude to turn Tyrant when he pleases? But why so? For tho' the *Prince himself can do no Wrong*, yet his *Ministers* may, and the Laws have taken care to provide Methods to punish them whenever they attempt the *Liberties* of the Subject, and endeavour to skreen themselves by the Direction or Command of the Prince; and if this Method is observed, the Subject will be safe from Tyranny, and there will be no occasion to erect popular Tribunals in order to call the Prince to an Account; an Expression no loyal Ear can hear without Horror, without recalling the uneasy Remembrance of Forty Eight, and a High Court of Justice: But what would these Men have? The Law of God does expressly tell us, *That no Man can touch the Lord's Anointed and be guiltless.* † And the Law of the Land says, *That the People in no Capacity ever had, have, or ought to have any coercive Power over the Person of their Prince:* And the Objectors themselves can upon occasion Swear, *That 'tis not lawful to take up Arms against the Queen upon any Pretence whatsoever:* What! will they admit neither the Laws of God nor Man as the Measures of their Obedience? Or do they think that both the *Bible* and the *Statute-Book* have combin'd together to undermine their natural Rights and Liberties.

But they urge, Must we tamely yield to the Tyranny of an unnatural Prince, who will ravish our Wives, seize our Properties, and destroy our Persons? Must we sit still, and give up our Throats to the inhuman Instruments of his Cruelty? Thus they put all the odious Cases possible, and endeavour to affix on this Doctrine what no Man in his

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Wits did ever affirm. Well ! but what are the Inferences ? Why, if they are not bound to a tame Submission in these Instances, then if the Queen displaces a *Great Man*, to whom they would commit the Reins of Government for Life, or retains *another* whom they don't like ; if she thinks fit to change her *Ministry*, that is dismiss her present Servants, and take others, a Right every Subject claims, why then she is overturning the Liberties of her Subjects and they must controul her : Has she made a Peace which will ruin the fine Schemes of some Persons, and may be dangerous to others, who have been guilty of great Mismanagements in the time of War ? Why then her Majesty is in a *Plot* to ruin her Kingdoms, and this must be a sufficient Reason to endeavour to embarrass her Affairs, and confound her Measures ; what Reasoning, what Consequences are these ? and yet I appeal to every unprejudic'd Person, whether this is not the true state of Things.

But it is further asked, how those who maintain this Doctrine, can be Friends to the late happy *Revolution* ? But have not they been often told, nay, has it not been demonstrated to them, that the *Revolution* founded on the *Abdication* of King *James*, his *voluntary Desertion of the Throne*, is intirely consistent with these Principles ; that the maintainers of them heartily run in with the present Settlements in the *Illustrious House of Hanover*, and by declaring the Queen to Reign by a *Divine Authority*, and to have an *Hereditary Right*, do effectually cut off the Hopes of all insolent *Pretenders* to her Crown and Dignity : But since nothing less will satisfy some Persons than to make the *Revolution* a *Rebellion*, we are taught to know what they mean, when they tell us of *Revolution Principles*.

The last Inference that I shall make from this Discourse is this, That the High Station of Princes, the Authority by which they act, and the Benefits that are conveyed by them to Mankind, do demand from their Subjects not only Honour and Obedience, but the sincerest Love and Affection : And if any Prince ever had a just Claim to this Duty, our present Sovereign has, who has no Interest seperate from
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that of her Subjects, and ever since the happy Date of her Auspicious Reign, has had nothing so much at Heart, as the Welfare of them all; who by a Generosity, unequalled by any of her Predecessors, retrenched her Royal Expences to relieve her Subjects groaning under the Burthens of a necessary War, and parted with a Branch of the Revenues of her Crown, for the decent and honourable Support of those, who Minister in that Church of which she is the Ornament and Defence; and as a QUEEN, does sacrifice her Time, her Ease and Health to the Publick Good; and in her private Capacity, as a Christian, does by the most bright and shining Example, the most sincere Piety, and unaffected Devotion, add lustre to the Crown she wears, and draws down Blessings on all who live under the Shadow of it; so that whoever is a Well-wisher to our happy Establishment in Church and State, must take up *Hiram's* words, and say, *because the Lord loveth his People, he hath made her Queen over them*: And even the Dissenters themselves, who from their Principles can be no great Friends to *Monarchy*, much less to that Church which is supported by it, have nothing to complain of, but that they are excluded the Administration of that Government, they are bound by Principle to overturn if they can; and if they have the least share of Modesty or Gratitude, they must own, that the Indulgence and Connivance they enjoy is greater than they deserve, because it is greater than they would ever give when the Power was in their Hands: But

We well know that the Return they make, however unreasonably, is always in Murmur and Complaint, and 'tis no Surprise, because it is usual: But for those who profess themselves Members of the Establish'd Church, to run in with the Measures of those Persons, to blacken her Majesty's Administration, and as far as in them lies, to frustrate her wise Contrivances for our present Happiness and future Security, shews, that they are unhappily prejudiced against the Form of Government under which they live, or that they are deeply engaged in Party and Faction, and have given up their Consciences to gratify their Ambition, their Interest or Revenge,

venge ; or *Lastly*, That there is something *Unnatural* and *Malignant* in the Frame of their Minds, since they are able to overcome that strong *Propension*, which every Man finds in himself to esteem and love his Prince ; which is the Duty that from *Gratitude* and *Conscience* I desire each of you to pay to the best of Queens, by regarding her as the *Vice-Gerent* of God, and on all Occasions expressing your Honour for her, your Obedience and your Love ; praying to that God in *whose Hand her Heart is*, That he would give her *Wisdom* to go in and out before this great People, that she may enjoy to the full the blessed Fruits of that Peace she so heartily laboured for, and so happily accomplished : And that her Reign may be as *prosperous* and as long as ever was enjoyed by any King or Queen on Earth.

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any King or Queen on Earth. For there is something of a question, and
addition in the time of their life, and it is one thing
to overcome their flesh, and another to overcome their spirit, and
in this I am assisted by the Spirit of God, which is the
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